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ABSTRACT

This monograph describes the major aspects involved in the desegregation of Dorchester County's schools and assesses the desegregation process to determine those factors which made the transition possible without violence or disruption to the educational system. The plan to desegregate the entire school system consisted of the reassignment of students at seven schools. Teachers were transferred in 21 of the 26 schools and approximately 20% of the entire faculty was reassigned. The Dorchester County experience indicates that only after the Board of Education hired a superintendent of schools specifically skilled in and committed to the process of desegregation did desegregation take place. Under the new leadership, a plan acceptable to HEW was designed and implemented within three months of his appointment. Another important conclusion from the Dorchester County experience is that desegregation works. Desegregation was planned and implemented without organized opposition, violence, or serious disruption of the educational process. This is especially significant because this county had repeatedly experienced violence about other civil rights issues during the 1960's. Students and faculty have been and remain desegregated for the most part. There has been minimal abandonment of the public school system by white families. There has been no overall decline in pupil achievement. (Author/AM)

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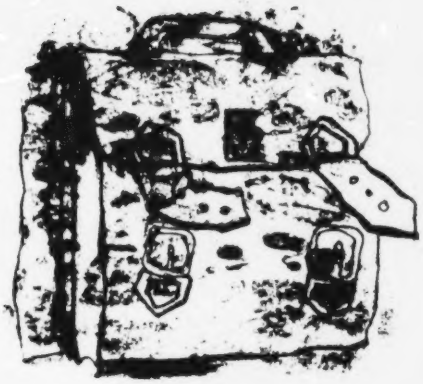

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN DORCHESTER COUNTY, MARYLAND

A STAFF REPORT OF
THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

September 1977

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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PREFACE

OCT 27 1976

The United States Commission on Civil Rights released on August 24, 1976, its report to the Nation: Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law: Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools.

The report's findings and recommendations were based upon information gathered during a 10-month school desegregation project. This included four formal hearings (Boston, Massachusetts; Denver, Colorado; Louisville, Kentucky; and Tampa, Florida); four open meetings held by State Advisory Committees (Berkeley, California; Corpus Christi, Texas; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Stamford, Connecticut); a survey of nearly 1,300 local school districts; and 29 case studies of communities which had difficulties with desegregation, had moderate success with desegregation, or had substantial success with desegregation.

Subsequent to the report's release, considerable interest was generated concerning the specifics of the case study findings, which, owing to space limitations in the national report, were limited to a few brief paragraphs. In an effort to comply with public requests for more detailed information, Commission staff have prepared monographs for each of the case studies. These monographs were written from the extensive field notes already collected and supplemented, if needed, with further interviews in each community. They reflect, in detail, the original case study purpose of finding which local policies, practices, and programs in each community surveyed contributed to peaceful desegregation and which ones did not.

It is hoped that the following monograph will serve to further an understanding of the school desegregation process in this Nation.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The struggle to end segregation in public schools began in the South where blacks, the courts, and the Federal Government first insisted upon changing the laws and practices which led to racial isolation. Many school districts which were segregated just a short time ago have implemented desegregation plans with minimal difficulties. The school district of Dorchester County, Maryland, is an example of such a school system.

The desegregation process in Dorchester County is by no means a perfect one nor have all the schools fully desegregated. Progress continues primarily because most citizens in this community believe that compliance with the law is in the best interest of their children and their community.

This monograph describes the major aspects involved in the desegregation of Dorchester County's schools and assesses the desegregation process to determine which factors made the transition possible without violence or disruption of the educational system.

II. BACKGROUND

Dorchester County, Maryland, is located approximately 50 miles southeast of Washington, D.C., on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay. With bay waters as boundaries to the north, west, and south, this largely rural county contains many marshlands and waterways. Because of these natural features which require circuitous travel, most public school students have always been bused to school.

The population according to the 1970 census was 29,405, with 11,595 living in Cambridge, the county's largest community. Forty percent of the population of Cambridge was black; blacks made up 31 percent of the total county population.

Most of Dorchester's work force is employed in the fishing and fish canning industries. Others farm the land, work in various light industries, or raise poultry.

The school system in Dorchester County (school district lines coincide with county boundaries) had a total enrollment in 1970 of 6,615, with 2,778 (41.9 percent) black. By 1975 there were 6,111 students enrolled of whom 2,538 (41.5 percent) were black.

While the student population declined during this period, the number of teachers increased. In 1970, there were 314 faculty members of whom 110 (36.0 percent) were black. Of 356 teachers in 1975, 103 (28.9 percent) were black and one was Hispanic.

III. HISTORY OF DESEGREGATION

Dorchester County's public schools, like those in many areas in the South, were segregated and in the decade following the 1954 Brown decision, the district did virtually nothing to desegregate its schools.

By 1961 Cambridge and Dorchester County were to feel the effects of the civil rights movement. Rallies and demonstrations were organized to protest racial discrimination, and the violence that followed resulted in the calling up of the National Guard by Maryland's Governor. National Guard troops remained in Cambridge for 6 months in 1963.

Also in 1963, the Dorchester County school district announced that the schools would operate under a "freedom-of-choice" system. All-black and all-white schools continued to exist, but white students were free to transfer to black schools and black students could attend white ones. Desegregation of public schools under this plan was minimal. Two black high school students entered white high schools in Dorchester in 1963. Only one remained in the white school for the entire year; the other transferred to a predominantly black school.[1]

After passage by Congress of Title IV (Desegregation of Public Education) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, pressure on the Dorchester County school system to provide quality education without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin was forthcoming from numerous sources.

In 1965 the school district was one of 14 Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland school districts studied by the Maryland Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. This study indicated only marginal progress had been made to desegregate the Dorchester schools under the freedom-of-choice method. At this

time there were 11 all-white schools, 6 all-black schools, and 9 schools that were desegregated. In those desegregated schools were enrolled only 180 of the district's approximately 2,600 black students. Only 1 black teacher of 99 was operating in other than an all-black institution.[2]

Also in 1965, the Maryland State National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) complained to the U.S. Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) about what it considered to be an unsatisfactory desegregation effort by the Dorchester school district. A Federal investigation was requested.

On March 26, 1966, the superintendent of schools for Dorchester County was informed by HEW that the district should prepare immediately for complete desegregation in the 1967-68 school year and that such preparations should include the closing of inadequate schools and the drawing of zoning lines where possible.

In a June 2, 1966, letter to the superintendent, the Maryland State Department of Education expressed its dissatisfaction with the degree of staff desegregation in the county's school system. Two weeks later, however, this office approved the continued use of the freedom-of-choice method to desegregate Dorchester's schools. The approval was based on the increase of blacks in desegregated schools from 6.1 percent of the total black enrollment in the previous year to 12.3 percent and on the provision that two inadequate facilities be closed and the pace of faculty desegregation in elementary schools be accelerated.

Although this freedom-of-choice plan allowed students to attend whichever schools they chose, school buses were assigned to schools rather than by geographic areas. Therefore, most students continued to ride segregated buses to segregated schools. Many black high school students were bused as many as 40 miles each day to the all-black school in Cambridge; their buses passed the nearby South Dorchester High School which remained all white.

A compliance review in July 1966 by HEW's Office of Education basically confirmed the information obtained

by the Advisory Committee's study and reiterated the recommendations of the Maryland Department of Education that several deficient facilities should be closed and that the number of teachers (black and white) serving in previously segregated settings should be increased from 12 to 17. The review report related that the dual system for the most part remained, that free-choice desegregation had indeed been marginal, that there was only minimal social or professional interaction between the races by both students and teachers, and that the county's educational administration feared increased white militancy if desegregation were pushed faster. These conditions were attributed to the adamant support of the free-choice procedures by the superintendent and the racial tension that existed in the aftermath of the civil rights disturbances of previous years. The report also pointed out that facilities at predominantly white and predominantly black schools appeared to be comparable; this factor may have contributed to the reluctance of black students to opt for desegregated schools.

During this review the superintendent stated emphatically to the investigating team that the district would go to court before it would be compelled to assign students to a particular school by geographic zoning or by any other plan. He strongly defended the freedom-of-choice plan and claimed substantial progress toward desegregation under it.

In 1967 a biracial steering committee to work on desegregation problems with the county planning council was established by the superintendent. However, consistent with his previous actions in this regard, the superintendent did not accept the committee's recommendations to create new school districts or to utilize busing to enhance desegregation.

In July 1968 a team of HEW's civil rights advisory specialists conducted another review of the desegregation process in Dorchester County and reported that the county's school system had not yet developed an effective, comprehensive desegregation plan. The report indicated that more than 75 percent of the district's black students continued to attend segregated schools and that four schools remained all black. Faculty desegregation was also less than HEW's

guideline standards, and where faculty desegregation had occurred it was disproportionate in that white teachers were assigned to black schools more often than black teachers were assigned to white ones.

This review also disclosed that the school bus system remained as segregated as the schools to which students were assigned because the superintendent continued to reject school assignment based on geographic zones. Not only did the transportation system tend to perpetuate the extant segregation, but the busing burden was borne disproportionately by black students. The reviewers also found that there were fewer course offerings in each of the three grades in the black high school than at the predominantly white high schools, that Iowa Tests of Basic Skills for ninth graders demonstrated significantly lower median scores for blacks, and that recreation areas at predominantly black or all-black schools were less developed than at white schools.

The review report concluded that all vestiges of the dual school structure would not be eliminated by September 1969 due to the superintendent's unswerving commitment to the free-choice plan and that HEW should therefore cite the district for noncompliance. Subsequently, HEW ordered the Dorchester County School District to accomplish complete desegregation by September 1969 or face loss of Federal funds.

On December 9, 1968, in response to this order, the superintendent wrote a 17-page letter to HEW describing the district's plan to meet Federal requirements for school desegregation. He first praised his school system for the following accomplishments: that 16 previously all-white schools had black enrollment; that 668 blacks attended those 16 schools with a total enrollment of 4,380 so that blacks comprised 15.2 percent of this total; that the three-preschool centers established in previously all-black schools in 1967 had had only 1 white attending that year but had an enrollment in 1968 of 95 white and 195 black.[3]

The superintendent also pointed out that the enrollment pattern at that time was due to the neighborhood schools' patterns of attendance, the good quality of the minority schools, the natural desire of

students to remain with people with whom they are comfortable, and the fear that one would have to work harder in another school.[4]

After describing a long-range plan for the district which included the construction of an educational park for all secondary schools (grades 9-12) and the use of current secondary facilities for middle schools (grades 5-8), the superintendent then proposed what he termed "The Elimination of the Freedom-of-Choice Plan." This plan, to be effective September 1969 and to continue until sufficient funds were available for the above construction, called for extensive pairing of elementary grades (K-7) within geographic, nonracial, attendance zones; for the then all-black high school in Cambridge to house all eighth and ninth graders in the area; and for the all-white high school to contain grades 10-12 in the Cambridge area. Both South and North Dorchester High Schools would then house students in grades 7-12 in their respective areas. After lengthy negotiations between the district's school administrators and HEW officials, apparent agreement for ending the freedom-of-choice plan was reached. In a letter to the superintendent dated March 7, 1969, HEW acknowledged that the district had indicated it lacked funds to implement desegregation according to Federal guidelines, and that the alternate interim plan proposed on December 9, 1968, was "adequate to accomplish the purposes of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."[5] This letter pointed out that HEW approval was conditioned on the district's agreement to establish nonracial attendance zones and to pair formerly all-white schools with formerly all-black schools in order to completely remove all racial identifiability. The letter further communicated the expectations of HEW officials that this desegregation effort was to be comprehensive, with the district agreeing to conduct all facets of the school system on a racially desegregated and nondiscriminatory basis.

After this agreement had been reached, contact between HEW and the district was minimal over the next 2 years. Changes of leadership in HEW's Office for Civil Rights in early 1970 gave Dorchester County more time to carry out its latest desegregation efforts.

However, from January through May 1971 HEW corresponded more frequently with the superintendent because the district's efforts to desegregate were apparently unsuccessful, according to data filed with HEW's Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP). In its correspondence, HEW cited and interpreted Federal regulations and the intent of the law requiring desegregation in pupil and teacher assignments and in extracurricular activities. The superintendent responded that he could not comply with all HEW requests, despite his previous agreements to do so. He still insisted that progress toward desegregation in Dorchester County was adequate, if not exemplary.

On May 4-6, 1971, a civil rights specialist from HEW conducted another onsite review to determine the school system's compliance with assurances it had made in order to receive Emergency School Assistance Program funding. The reviewer found that the district had met its assurances in only three areas: the district had not transferred public property to private schools; it had appointed a biracial advisory committee (although it was largely composed of school division personnel); and there were integrated student advisory committees.

There was, however, unsatisfactory progress in several major areas: (1) discriminatory treatment of faculty and staff still existed (specifically in assignments of principals); (2) faculty desegregation was inadequate (black-white faculty assignments at each school not in proportion to the student racial proportion in the school system); (3) some classrooms and extracurricular activities continued to be segregated; (4) most school buses were either all white or all black; and (5) one school had segregated students at recess by sex.[6]

This review made it clear that desegregation had not progressed as required in Dorchester County. Moreover, the district had fallen woefully short of meeting the assurances it made to remain eligible for Federal assistance funds.

On May 18, 1971, the HEW's Regional Office in Philadelphia requested the superintendent to submit a listing of teacher assignments for the coming school year. The strained relations that had developed after

several years of conflict over the method by which Dorchester County would desegregate its public schools were apparent in the superintendent's response to this request following HEW's most recent, uncomplimentary review of his school system:

> In reference to your letter of May 18, 1971, there isn't any way that Dorchester County within 60 days will be able to inform you of the new assignments and where they will be placed. Last year we processed 600 applications in order to place 86 teachers! Color is not considered. We hire any teachers who are certified for the job.
>
> ...[T]here isn't any teacher, child, parent, or otherwise, who feels discriminated against under our complete desegregation plan. However, I reiterate, there isn't any way within 60 days we can tell you who is going to be in what school. It is going to take us until the opening day of school to even be sure ourselves.
>
> We are doing our best and feel, like I said before, that we have no comparison in the State of Maryland on effective desegregation. We will attempt to comply with every stipulation that you send us, but we cannot do the impossible with placement figures.[7]

Threatened with the loss of Federal assistance due to noncompliance with HEW desegregation guidelines, the Dorchester County Board of Education accepted the superintendent's resignation in June 1971 and immediately appointed a new administrator. The staunchest supporter of "freedom-of-choice" had resigned. The new superintendent, who had developed a comprehensive desegregation plan in Carroll County, Maryland, did what the former superintendent thought was impossible. Within a month, he developed a desegregation plan that satisfied the requirements set forth by HEW.

Under the new superintendent, the school district was able to identify for HEW in a letter dated July 8,

1971, the assignment of teachers by position, school, and race.

On July 29, 1971, Dorchester County submitted to HEW a revised plan to desegregate the entire school system. This plan described in a comprehensive manner the intended teacher and student reassignments that would cause each district school to be desegregated, to the extent feasible, in proportion to the black-white composition of the community. The plan also addressed each noncompliance area as indicated in the findings of the HEW onsite review. Eight items formed the core of the district's new proposals:

1. The junior and senior high schools in Cambridge which were paired beginning in the 1969-70 school year would operate as separate administrative units during 1971-72. The junior high school would be administered completely by a black principal and white vice-principal; the senior high would have a white principal and two vice-principals, one black and one white.

2. The school district would make every effort to fill guidance counselor, supervisor, principal, and central office personnel positions with minority persons as vacancies occurred. Funds to assist minorities to become qualified for these positions would be sought.

3. Separation by sexes in the playgrounds would be prohibited.

4. All-black or all-white classes would be ended through rescheduling.

5. Black and white representatives would be elected from every classroom to serve on the student councils, and integrated clubs and coaching staffs would be encouraged.

6. All-white and all-black bus routes would be ended except in those few areas where buses fill quickly with one group. Under no circumstances would a bus routed through black

and white areas pick up children of only one race.

7. The district would publicize ESAP project information in both local papers and on the local radio station.

8. The district would also add more nonschool personnel to the advisory committee and maintain an equal racial representation.[8]

This was the substance of the desegregation plan that the new superintendent developed. On August 24, 1971, the school district was again informed by HEW that its reorganization plans accomplished the purposes of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and that Federal funds would not be withheld.

Two primary and two intermediate schools with majority black student populations still remained. These schools do not enroll the majority of black students in the district, however. Two elementary schools and the high school located in the far southern end of the district had low black enrollments. However, on October 19, 1971, HEW officials wrote a letter to the district expressing their understanding that the racial composition in these schools was due to the distance between schools, the location of black and white population concentrations, and the unusual shape of the district. Those circumstances justified the situation to HEW's satisfaction. The district was advised that any future construction and/or consolidation should be designed to eliminate these racial imbalances.

Finally, after 7 years of discussion and correspondence between HEW and school officials during which the effects of a segregated educational system had been allowed to linger, the implementation of a comprehensive desegregation plan had occurred in a period of only several months.

IV. FULL DESEGREGATION: RESULTS AND REACTIONS

The methods and procedures outlined by the new superintendent and approved by HEW during the summer months of 1971 were carried out during the ensuing school year. Though no schools in the county were closed during this period due to desegregation, two obsolete schools have since ceased operation and six new schools have been built, each in conformity with HEW regulations for pupil desegregation.

Desegregation necessitated the reassignment of students at 7 schools; the other 19 schools either already had satisfactory racial compositions or had extenuating circumstances which made more complete desegregation unfeasible. Teachers were transferred in 21 of 26 schools, as approximately 20 percent of the entire faculty was reassigned. At the elementary level, 16 teachers were moved, 9 black and 7 white. Transfers of secondary teachers involved 20 persons, 10 black and 10 white.

During the first months of school under full desegregation, human relations workshops for teachers were organized and conducted by county school officials. These sessions were informal and loosely structured, allowing opportunities for whites and blacks to openly discuss the problems in race relations that some were encountering for the first time. Teachers generally credited these workshops as having significantly eased tensions during the transition period. The school official who directed this informal training was also responsible for communications and liaison between the community and its school system.

Following desegregation some effort was directed toward upgrading black studies, but there were no curriculum changes related to desegregation in 1971. At one high school, in 1973, a black history course was

offered. Faculty members reported that, though there were no changes in teaching methodology as a result of desegregation, most teachers took extra care to conduct their classrooms with a colorblind impartiality. A formal track system in upper grades was eliminated in 1971, after which teachers gave individual attention to compensate for the learning deficiencies of some students.

Of all extracurricular activities at that time, athletic teams were reported to be the most successfully desegregated. A commitment by school administrators either to recruit popular coaches who would attract both black and white players or to integrate coaching teams facilitated the merging of athletic programs.

The effect of desegregation on busing was minimal. School officials did not consider the bus system as necessarily related to the desegregation process and therefore did not keep detailed records on the changes in scheduling that accompanied desegregation. They did report that, although the percentage of students bused rose from 56.9 percent during the year prior to desegregation to 73.4 percent during the subsequent year, the portion of the school district's budget spent on busing declined slightly over the same period. The burden of the transportation increase did fall somewhat more heavily on blacks than on whites, due in large part to the conversion of the black high school to a junior high and the resultant redistribution of black students to the other three high schools in the county. Protests which occurred involving school buses were generally by white parents opposed to desegregation, without any special emphasis on busing.

There were no incidents of violence related to the desegregation process in the schools or the general community. Principals attributed those conflicts between blacks and whites which have occurred to personality rather than racial differences. Dorchester County's teachers, counselors, and principals agreed that unruliness, noisiness, and disrespect for authority have become more of a problem since desegregation. However, they viewed the permissiveness of society and lack of parental authority at home to have been primarily responsible for increasing

disciplinary problems and not desegregation per se. Some white teachers did report that they feared retaliation if they disciplined black children, and so the principal's office was often used as the solution. It was suggested that this heavy reliance on principals to deal with the wide range of problems once handled by teachers tended to erode classroom order further as students recognized the decline in teacher authority.

District school officials estimated that attendance was 10 to 20 percent below average during the earliest weeks of full desegregation but within weeks was back at its normal level. Approximately 200 white students (5 percent of the white enrollment) were withdrawn from the public school system and placed in segregated, private acadamies. In keeping with the long held concept of freedom of choice in school attendance, these all-white institutions were labeled "freedom schools" by supporters.

Indicators of pupils' achievement in the public school system since desegregation show mixed results. High school students have made progressively higher scores on the Scholastic Achievement Tests (SAT), but the scores of ninth graders on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills have been lower in recent years. Black and white teachers had mixed feelings about the progress of educational quality and scholastic achievement, but black teachers were somewhat more positive in their assessments than were whites. All teachers noted a lack of motivation in the students and cited as primary causes parental apathy, unemployment, and a lessening of respect for the entire educational process.

There is little evidence that teachers assumed roles of leadership during or after desegregation to enhance the quality of education. However, students often identified teachers as the factor which most facilitated implementation by creating a classroom atmosphere that was conducive to interracial harmony.

Even though some tensions still exist between black and white citizens of Dorchester County and despite the fact that housing patterns continue to promote racial isolation, progress has been made in race relations as a result of desegregation in the schools. The special efforts school administrators made to integrate classes

and extracurricular activities helped greatly to foster good race relations among students. Teachers cited the increase in interracial friendships and dating as evidence of students' improved attitudes toward racial differences.

Surprisingly, one difficulty reported in 1976 was the decreasing proportion of black principals on the district's nonteaching professional staff. Black faculty members related that most blacks in the county were concerned about the racial implications of recent demotions and reassignments given black administrators. They stressed that the black community attached great significance to the exte.t to which black leaders share in the management of the public school system.

V. LEADERSHIP FOR DESEGREGATION

Prior to 1971 the black community in Dorchester County was the only advocate for complete school desegregation. The board of education supported the position of the school superintendent, who had responded to pressures from HEW with an ineffectual freedom-of-choice plan for desegregation. The single black member of the board of education was unable to participate or provide effective leadership because of illness and advanced age.

However, as the plans for school desegregation were developed and implemented, black community organizations formed a broad-based coalition to provide a unified voice for black community concerns and to coordinate activities among community groups supporting implementation. This coalition, known as the Steering Committee to Study Desegregation, was the informal nerve center for community organizations and violence control. Through it, information about school board actions, teacher assignment problems, and other news regarding implementation was exchanged. It provided the forum for pro-desegregation groups to discuss strategy for reacting to controversial parts of the desegregation plan. The coalition also helped these groups to reach a consensus regarding policy questions and nominations of black members to the advisory council.

Dorchester's governing body, the county commission, publicly appeared indifferent to school desegregation, deferring the leadership role to the school authorities. The commissioners did appoint a three-person advisory council (one black included) to work in conjunction with the school system's advisory committee and the black community's steering committee. Local business persons were largely silent on the desegregation controversy. Religious leaders

functioned to calm tension[illegible]s but took no active role advocating either desegreg[illegible]ation or maintenance of the status quo. Throughout th[illegible]e long desegregation process from 1963 to 1971 the loca[illegible]l media did little to facilitate implementation. It appeared to some sources that one newspaper, the Dorchester News, acted to exacerbate the difficulties of desegregation by occasionally sensationalizing its coverage of the inevitable problems that such major social change causes. Despite this, the neutral postures of the county commission and the business and religious communities created an atmosphere of acceptance which made a significant protest against school desegregation impossible.

The turning point came in mid-1971, with the board of education's appointment of a new superintendent who immediately moved to develop and implement a comprehensive, workable desegregation plan. The board of education had looked for a superintendent with experience in a school system that had desegregated successfully. After hiring him, members of the board publicly supported his efforts. The two segregated teachers' associations united to form one organization with biracial leadership. The black community continued to press for more minority representation on the board of education, resulting in the appointment of a black man in 1972. By 1971 desegregation of public schools had been accepted by the entire community as the law, and no responsible leader spoke out in opposition.

VI. CONCLUSION

The Dorchester County experience demonstrates that leadership is a key factor in school desegregation. The leadership in the Dorchester County schools prior to 1971 led the county and its school system through a series of revisions which left a dual structure of education largely intact and a community divided against itself.

Only after the board of education hired a superintendent of schools specifically skilled in and committed to the process of desegregation did desegregation take place. Under the new, determined leadership of this superintendent, a plan acceptable to HEW was designed and implemented within 3 months of his appointment. The board of education accepted the fact that school desegregation is a constitutional imperative.

Another important conclusion from the Dorchester County experience is that desegregation works. After much footdragging, desegregation was planned and implemented without organized opposition, violence, or serious disruption of the educational process. This is especially significant because Dorchester County repeatedly had experienced violence about other civil rights issues during the 1960s.

Students and faculty of Dorchester's schools have been and remain desegregated for the most part. There has been minimal abandonment of the public school system by white families. There has been no overall decline in pupil achievement. The community is aware that Dorchester County has complied with the law, that attitudes are changing, and that the black and white students are learning to live with one another as part of their school experience.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise credited, information in this report was obtained through interviews of Dorchester County residents in March 1976 by staff members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

2. Maryland Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report on School Desegregation in 14 Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland Counties (February 1966), pp. 21-23.

3. Superintendent Busick, letter to HEW, Dec. 9, 1968. (Letters cited in this report are on file in the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, D.C.)

4. Ibid.

5. HEW, letter to Superintendent Busick, Mar. 7, 1969.

6. HEW, letter to Superintendent Busick, July 22, 1971.

7. Superintendent Busick, letter to HEW, May 21, 1971.

8. Superintendent Shilling, letter to HEW, July 29, 1971.

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